1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Kaveltcadom

Pima ancestors of those credited with Pima blood are remembered. "The Pima were too far from the Maricopa to intermarry with them much: they did not see much of them." They did not marry the Papago to the south. A few Papago living in the mountains nearer the Colorado, however, married with the Kaveltcadom at Gila Bend. Some of the present-day population are descended from a Yavapai woman captive; it is barely possible from more than one.

Contacts with Spaniards and Mexicans before the American occupation of the territory are little remembered. Their settlements were at a considerable distance, at Tucson and southward, and with these there was slight trade. Chiefs may not have existed or been of much importance until they were appointed, or received documents of authority from Spanish and Mexican officials. Two Mexicans are known to have accompanied the Maricopa on a raid against the Yuma before Kutox was born (in 1847).

An incident of uncertain meaning was reported by Kutox. When he was about four years old (1851 or 1852), "the first Spaniard" came and went on to the coast (?). He brought back with him from the Colorado the head chief of the Kamia, named kwiciny̱i'tăo'ăă. They went "on top" of Pima Butte, calling all the local Indians together, and said they were going to talk to them. The Maricopa and Kohuana crowded around this chief and killed him. The Spaniards and Americans who were there fled the same night. "We were proud of scaring away the Americans." The Americans acquired this territory at that time.

Americans were first seen in the Halchidhoma village when Kutox was three (1850). (They began to come in numbers following the discovery of gold in California in 1849.) Actually individual trappers and parties had been passing throughout the quarter century preceding. One trapper, a friend of the Maricopa, was killed by Yavapai at his home west of the Gila Bend Mountains. The best known was a beaver trapper living nearby, who brought the Mohave to them to make peace in 1863. He was known only as pĕngwĭtcaa', "beaver eater." Kutox gave a circumstantial account of the massacre of the Oatman family when he was about six (1853). The actual date is 1851.[70] He also remembered a body of American soldiery coming through "a year after" the Yuma raid of 1857. This may have been the California column of 1862.[71] Episodes of the Civil War period were remembered: in 1862–63 a white trader at Casa Blanca was captured by Texans, and the soldiers fought near Tucson.

Mexicans and Americans were called xiko'[72] or more literally ipahama'ł,

[70] Stratton, *Captivity of the Oatman Girls*.

[71] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 47.

[72] A folk-etymology was offered, deriving the word from the cooing of doves which the whites' language was said to resemble. The word occurs in other Yuman tongues: Mohave hiko, hiiko, haiko (Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 770); Southeastern Yavapai hako (Gifford, *Southeastern Yavapai*, p. 182); Havasupai hai'ka. Font (1776) recorded the Yuma form as Jéco (Assende Jéco, "one white man")

175 582 175 648 [184]

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Maricopa

CHAPTER II

BASIS OF SUBSISTENCE

177 Since the basis of subsistence of the Maricopa and their allies
241 has changed greatly since aboriginal days it is by no means easy to draw a picture of the original food quest. Even before white settlers appeared, Maricopa acquisition of wheat from Mexico had almost entirely displaced the cultivation of corn, and since that day dependence on traders' products has almost obliterated
[439] what remained of their original habits.

The staples of the Maricopa and of the Halchidhoma while
262 still on the Colorado seem to have been identical and used
184 in much the same proportion. There is a possibility, however, that the Halchidhoma cultivated corn somewhat more than their Gila relatives and had access to more fish. In contrast, then, they depended less on mesquite and rabbits. This must remain an inference based on what is known of other lower California peoples, since Halchidhoma informants no longer know precisely what ancestral life on the Colorado was like.

22 The Maricopa seem to have depended largely on gathering mesquite beans, hunting jackrabbits, and on fishing. Relatively
[243] little corn was cultivated. The picture of the food quest drawn
[462] by informants shows that women were occupied every day gathering mesquite beans during the season, while the men hunted hard by for rabbits or fished. The quest was unceasing: "people starved in those days unless men and women kept at it all day long." Kutox maintained that in those days children were un-
[146] dernourished: "a child of two or more might not be able to stand because it lacked food." On the other hand, Bartlett (1852) makes it appear that Pima and Maricopa cultivation was so great as to allow long periods of inactivity.[1]

137 Yet mesquite was abundant in the valley, especially in the

[1] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 264. [Text continues on page 50.]

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Mohave
Halchidhoma

There were differences between these sibs and those on the Colorado, or at least those of the Mohave as Kroeber describes them. Mohave sibs are said to be nameless; all the women of a sib were called by a single name, which had totemic reference; and the totemic name was not the everyday word for the totem. Thus, all Mohave women of a particular sib were called hipa. This name was said to "mean" coyote although in normal Mohave speech the coyote was huk*θ*ara. According to Mohave myth, certain men originally named Coyote were instructed by the culture hero to call their female descendants through males by the term hipa "corresponding" to their name Coyote. Similarly myth provided each one of the women's names with its associated "totem."[34]

In the Maricopa community there were phonetic equivalents of the Mohave women's names which served explicitly as names of the sibs. This is unlike the Mohave situation. The sib name was regarded as only potentially the name of all the women of the sib; many of them were called by the name of the sib, but only after marriage. The sib names might thus replace their personal names but this was by no means automatic and universal. They were rather used as convenient alternatives for the personal names. The feature of the Maricopa-Halchidhoma naming practice which contrasts most strongly with the Mohave as Kroeber describes it, is that most of the women had individual personal names, many of which had totemic import. Usually the names referred indirectly to the totems, but they were sometimes the everyday names of the totems. Some men, in addition, had names of the same sort.

To take the parallel instance, the Maricopa[35] sib χipa', one of whose totems was coyote (χatâluwe'), included forty-three women and girls. Eighteen of them bore names referring to the totems of this sib, while thirteen had names devoid of such reference. (Of the remaining twelve, some had no native names, for others it could not be recalled by my informant.) Four of the eighteen were called sim-

[34] *Ibid.; Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave*, p. 278.

[35] Strictly speaking, this refers collectively to the χipa sibs of Maricopa, Halchidhoma, and persons of Pima descent in the Maricopa-speaking community. It proved impossible to separate the names according to tribe in any satisfactory way (see p. 198).

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ply xipa'. The names of two women will illustrate the indirect reference of the remainder; one is named "invisible," referring to the clouds; another, "winding," referring to the wild gourd vines; both clouds and wild gourd being among the xipa' totems. Thirty-one men belong to this sib, but only one has a totemic name.

The sib name thus serves as an auxiliary designation for all the women of a sib. Some women have no other personal name. More specifically it is a common term of address used by a man's relatives for his wife. For example, Mrs. Redbird of kwĭtk,ĭ'l,[A] sib has the personal name nĭk,ĭnk,ĭ'k, "iridescent green" (referring to the totem lizard), but is called kwĭtk,ĭ'l,[A] by her husband's sister. This has its counterpart in the bestowal of a nickname on a husband by his mother-in-law or someone of his wife's family.[56]

The feeling is marked among these people that all the Yumans have one sib system. That particular sibs of their own are not present in other tribes is a matter of no moment: that, they would say, is due to the fact that what we are here calling sibs are to them single lines of descent, and it is but natural that some lineages are not found in other tribes. What impresses them is that everywhere on the Colorado there are patrilineal lineages, within which the women alone are designated as pertaining to the lineage, and which function exogamously. They are conscious of a system; that details differ is immaterial.

The feeling for the system is very strong. They equate the patrilineal sibs of the Pima, or rather their moieties, with their own sibs, although the basis of Pima organization is different. All the local families derived from Pima paternal ancestors are reckoned in the sibs xipa' and l,ew'c. They object violently even today to allowing their daughters to marry men of sibless tribes; the children would have no sib affiliation. Naturally, it is quite permissible for men to do so. There are several cases in the present generation of women who have married Indians from California. No attempt was made to assign these men to particular sibs, hence

[56] The Yuma situation also differed from that of the Mohave. Yuma sibs had definite names; these served as women's names, but the women also had personal names which referred indirectly to the totems. The Yuma differed from the Maricopa-Halchidhoma in that the sib name regularly substituted for the personal name in later life (Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, pp. 142–47, 149).

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their children are not placeable. The bastard origin of one woman can never be forgotten, since she belongs to no sib, her Indian father being unknown. I do not know how the matter came to be resolved in the case of several individuals known to be descendants of white men, but they have sib affiliation. On the other hand, all the known members of the Halchidhoma sib kwĭtk,ĭl,ᴬ are derived from a remote Walapai ancestor. They do not know how he came to be called kwĭtk,ĭ'l,ᴬ, but presume that the Walapai must have sibs, which is not the case.[37] They would be distinctly nonplussed if their women married men of a matrilineally organized tribe, such as the Apache or Southeastern Yavapai, but no such marriages have occurred, since these were mortal enemies. There is a recent instance, however; a marriage of a Maricopa girl to a Hopi man, now resident in nearby Phoenix. The girl's family, with whom I discussed the case, looked upon the placing of their two infants as an unsolvable problem.

Lists of sibs (cimu'l) of the several local tribes were obtained from several individuals. They were not always in agreement as to the tribal origin of particular sibs: the most probable ascription appears in the following list (Table IV). There may have been other sibs among the Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai before they joined the Maricopa. But it is improbable: since the migration occurred only in the generation preceding that of my older informants, other sibs would have been remembered.

Some of the ascriptions are certain: Halchidhoma, kwĭtk,ĭ'l,ᴬ; Kohuana, cĭnyikwĭ'ᵐ and ɤĭlyi'; Halyikwamai, tŏɤpa'ˢ; Yuma, cŭkápa'ˢ; Halchidhoma and Kohuana, cĭkáma'; Kohuana and Halyikwamai, sala'l. It was thought probable that Halchidhoma kwŭc⁴ku' and l,ámu'c were derived from the Kohuana. There is some doubt that the Halchidhoma originally had the sibs they share with the Maricopa, but the probability is high. Maricopa mavĭ'ˢ is extinct or may never have existed as a sib. (It is one of the month names.) My informants had never heard of anyone locally with this sib affiliation, but one man knew it as a Yuma sib. Yuma cŭkápa'ˢ and Pima l,ɛu'c and ɤipa', given in this list, refer to individuals of immediate Yuma and Pima descent.

Some of the Maricopa and Halchidhoma sib names were the same as the six month names. This, incidentally, makes it more certain that both peoples had the same sibs, as they seem to have

[37] There is a Mohave sib kutkilya with which he may have been affiliated (Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 742).

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had the same calendar. These months are xavâtca'c, xamitu'tc, and kŭmâδi'. Other month names were doubtfully the same as sibs: Last Star added l,ew'c and mavĺ's as month names, Kutox added xipa'. Both gave macxipa's as the name of a month, but Last Star maintained that this corresponded to the sib name

TABLE IV

SIBS

Maricopa*	Halchidhoma	Kohuana	Halyikwamai	Pima	Yuma
l,ew'c.....	l,ew'c	.....	.....	l,ew'c	.....
xipa'.....	xipa'	.....	.....	xipa'	.....
xavâtca'c....	xavâtca'c	.....	.....	.....	.....
xamitu'tc....	xamitu'tc	.....	.....	.....	.....
kŭmâδi'.....	kŭmâδi'	.....	.....	.....	.....
pakĺ't.....	pakĺ't	.....	.....	.....	.....
	cĺkâma'	cĺkâma'	.....	.....	.....
	kwŭc^{a}ku'	kwŭc^{a}ku'	.....	.....	.....
	l,âmu'c	l,âmu'c	.....	.....	.....
		cĺnyikwĺ's	.....	.....	.....
		sala'l	sala'l	.....	.....
mavĺ's (?)...	.....	.....	.....	.....	mavĺ's
	kwĺtk,ĺ'l,^{b}	.....	.....	.....	.....
		xllyi'	.....	.....	.....
			tŏxpa's	.....	.....
					cŭkâpa's

[114] * Kroeber (*Handbook*, p. 742) gives a list of sibs purporting to be Maricopa, but it is palpable that these refer to the several Maricopa-speaking tribes now forming the joint community. Kwaka is evidently Halchidhoma and Kohuana kwŭc^{a}ku'. Kaila, sand, does not occur in any of my lists. The following sibs among the "Maricopa from the Cocopa," which Kroeber interprets to mean the Kohuana, do not occur in my list of local Kohuana sibs: halpot, a bush; kwuthil, any yellow animal; mava, rattlesnake; kwinis, deer; hutpas, sedge (see also Gifford, *Clans and Moieties*, pp. 158 f.). Of these, only one (kwuthil) is known locally. It may be that these Kohuana sibs exist among remnants of this tribe elsewhere.

[824] xipa'. The significant point is that both felt that the sib system was in direct relation to the calendar round. The plants that are cultivated, or which ripen in a certain month, are the totems of the sib having that month name. Thus, corn is planted in the two months named xavâtca'c (February and August); xamitu'tc is the month for gathering mesquite; cholla cactus ripens in xipa' and the giant cactus in kŭmâδi'; xipa' months (April and September) are also the months of rain. Corn, mesquite, cholla, suhuaro, and rain are all totems of the correspondingly named sibs.

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Maricopa

wildering complexity, yet it is clear that they operate with a few simple principles. [601]

The word "system" is quite legitimately employed for this body of kinship designations. It became quite clear that the Maricopa themselves think of it as a well-defined system. Thanks to my interpreter, Mrs. Redbird, it was possible to enquire systematically into the relationship of every person in the collateral lines derived from common greatgrandparents. She needed to know no more than the sex and relative ages of the siblings from whom the lines were traced to give without hesitation the terms used between any pair in the succeeding generations to no matter what degree of remoteness. She was frankly operating with a system. Every one of the usages obtained from her was checked and cross-checked, and in nearly every instance her first response was found to be correct. Not so her mother, an old-time Maricopa of nearly sixty, who, her daughter told me, could never tell what her relatives of even slight remoteness were called. Obviously, individual interest in the subject varied widely. [829] [115] [124] [183]

It is important to note that the kinship system bears no relation whatever to the sib system; kinship groupings do not follow sib lines. [602] [614]

The essential principle of the system is that the relative ages of brothers and sisters are given terminological expression, and the terms for their descendants hinge on this. These distinctions appear at every point, yet the curious thing is that age distinctions between siblings have no social existence. Neither I nor my interpreter, with whom I repeatedly discussed the matter, could find any feature of social life which might give rise to this. It may exist, but Mrs. Redbird's opinion was that the terminological distinctions existed only for their own sake. [601] [561]

Coupled with this basic principle is the fact that half-brothers and half-sisters are considered brother and sister, but only when children of the same mother.[46] The classification of parallel cous- [601]

[46] By implication this may also be true of the Yuma and Mohave, but not of Cocopa, Kamia, and Northern Dieguño (Gifford, *Californian Kinship Terminologies*, p. 62; Kroeber, *California Kinship Systems*, p. 341). Terms given for paternal and maternal half-siblings among Yuma and Mohave are identical with those recorded here for the Maricopa. It may therefore be that these Colorado [194] [171]

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15

601 his first cousins). These are cousins whom he calls older and younger brother; the children of his parents' cousins who figure as father's brothers and mother's sisters. There is an exception, however; it is not used for the cousins derived from his father's mother's sister or his mother's father's brother. On its face this implies that the excepted lines of descent are more closely related to the direct line than the others, but the reason is obscure. The [576] word is also used as a term of greeting to a non-relative, when the speakers are both men. The corresponding form is ciyi', used by two women, or when addressing an acquaintance of the opposite sex.[48] These are the terms used between members of the same sib when they are not blood relatives.

Relatives by marriage are grouped so that all women married to the men of one's own family are called by the same term (unyi', the wives of a brother, son, grandson, and of the parents' brothers, and with them the step-mother). This corresponds to the practice of all members of the family, but especially the women, calling these wives each by her sib name. The same stem appears in the single term applied by a woman to her husband's family (Inkunyi',[49] his siblings, parents, grandparents and his children by another wife). Corresponding to this we might expect a man to use one term to designate members of his wife's family, including his step-children, but this does not occur. He groups some of his wife's relatives (her brother and grandparents) with some of the husbands of women of his own family (his sister's and granddaughter's husbands). A woman also calls her granddaughter's husband by this term (ucu'). A man's step-child is kitca', a step-father the same (ʰn,ȧkl'tc); corresponding to unyi'c for step-mother and a woman's step-child, but without

[48] Kiyi' as an alternative for brother has an analog in Yuma, Kamia, and Cocopa. Where in Maricopa greatgrandparents and greatgrandchildren call each other siblings, in the tongues named these relatives call one another kiyi and aiyi (Gifford, *Californian Kinship Terminologies*, pp. 62, 65, 67). Further, kiyi is used between males, aiyi between male and female or between females, exactly as in Maricopa. [184]

[49] This may be I-n,ȧ-k-unyi'; n,ȧ-, the first person possessive prefix. This is borne out by Mohave: Maricopa unyi' and Inkunyi' are covered by unyi-k in Mohave (Kroeber, *California Kinship Systems*, p. 342).

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Maricopa
Halchidhoma

601 dȟkpâsi'ȥk, a woman's father's brother's daughter
ẗstcuma'vâ, mother's sister's child
tclk,ȥ'vâ, a man's male cross-cousin
ȋlya', a woman's female cross-cousin

[193] It is noteworthy that all the terms of the parental and grandparental generation carry the possessive prefix, nâ-, n,â-.

●184 601 The Halchidhoma kinship system is identical with that of the Maricopa, except for slight phonetic differences, according to Kutox and Mrs. Redbird. As an example, the latter cited Halchidhoma mĭnâpiga' for Maricopa mĕnâpiya'. They may have meant, however, nothing more than that the terms and their use for close relatives are the same. Whether all the connotations are the same was not enquired into.

601 In the following list of Maricopa terms, the extensions into the collateral lines are not given, i.e., the classification of descendants of the grandparents' siblings. These are summarized above.

nâpsu'	father's father
nâgwo'	mother's father
nâmsu'	father's mother
nâk,iu'	mother's mother
nâkl'tc, n,âkl'tc, n,âkica'	grandparent's brother, step-father
cln,âkl's	grandparent's sister
n,ȋko"	a man's father
čnâ'si'	a woman's father
'ntai	mother
nâviya' (vocative), nâvi' (non-vocative)	father's older brother
n,iku's, ln,iku's	father's younger brother
nâbiya' (vocative), nabi' (non-vocative), nĕbi'k	father's sister
čnâsi'c, nâsi', nâsiya'	mother's older sister
n,âmuyi'c, nâmuya'	mother's younger sister
nâgwi'c, nâgwiya'	mother's brother
ȥavi'kIc	"two [of us]", sibling (probably non-vocative)
matȥacâvâva'k	siblings (more than two; probably non-vocative)
čndjĕ'n	"straight," older sibling; father's older brother's child; a man's father's older sister's and mother's older brother's daughter; a woman's father's older sister's and mother's older brother's son; a woman's mother's older sister's child, when the mother and her sister had the

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Maricopa
Yuma

832 i.e., "good") it was explained that fleshy women were meant. [856] Further, cradles for girls were made with the cross bars widely spaced so that the infants would grow to have large buttocks. They had a common saying that a handsome man will never 581 marry a good-looking woman, while an ugly one would always get 832 several wives. They had also the saying that a woman would give her good-looking daughter to a successful deer hunter. On the other hand I was told that one who was lucky at hunting and in games would not be lucky in love.

582 A girl might marry a few months or half a year after her puberty celebration, but some did not marry for several years.

584 Theoretically, at least, young men asked permission of their parents to marry. The parents selected the girl: even if their son did not care for her, he nevertheless obeyed them. "That is why some couples did not get along; because the parents did the selecting," Kutox observed.

The youth did not court the girl. Instead, he crept to her bed at night and lay beside it, but he refrained from touching her.[85] (This seems incredible but was convincingly affirmed by several [572] informants.) Occasionally he would take a bosom friend along, point out where the girl lay, and send him off.

[827] This gave rise to a saying: when a man reaches for something and his joints crack, he ejaculates, "No, I am not trying to get married"; because a lad's joints will crack, no matter how quiet he may be when he tries to crawl in beside the girl. It is reported that one man now living said he could never get married because this always happened to him. He said he exercised so his joints would not crack, but they always did.

If the girl woke, she sent her suitor away. She might go over to her parents and lie between them. Then the young man would tell one of them to get up, so that he could lie beside her.[86] Sometimes, if she did not wake, he remained until morning. Then, when her parents found he had been there, they persuaded her to marry him. Even if he came but once, they would force her to marry. It made no difference if she protested her dislike. Her

[184] [85] They were not continent for four nights following marriage like the Yuma (Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 156).

[86] Again, this seems actually to have happened.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Mohave

173 602 Maricopa, visiting him, found him slain by the Yavapai. They thought they had best flee so that they would not be accused of his murder. One Maricopa, however, insisted on carrying off one of the bags, thinking it contained the much desired miner's shovels. The others crowded around him, ingratiatingly calling him "uncle" and by other kinship terms. When they opened the bag, they found that what had felt like shovel blades were only the stiff, flat tails of the beaver. So they thought it a joke on him and pushed him about.

601 ●184 They did not refer to father's and mother's kinsmen in the Mohave manner as on the right and left respectively,[45] but a simple reference to "on the man's side" (ipa'gâwŭ'm) or "on the woman's side" (sĭn,ăŏ'kâwŭ'm) would be fully understood.

[45] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 749.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Mohave

It is quite clear that the cycles did not recite myths, but were confined to the personal experience of the dreamer. Nor did the dreamer project himself back into the mythological period: dreams and songs referred to the contemporaneous scene alone. Mrs. Redbird was emphatic on these points, contrasting Maricopa songs with the mythological type of the Mohave, with which she was acquainted. In both points they stand in clear distinction to Mohave songs. This is important, for the nature of the songs reinforces the fact that Maricopa dreams were individual experiences of a type more general in North American than the Mohave.

Yet the myth type was not wholly absent. Two songs at least told fragments of the Creation tale. Buzzard song related "all about" the creation; the appearance and actions of the sick culture hero, of his cremation, of the dispersal of the people in the desert and their settling in their historic homes. The song of Frog told how "in the first part of the evening" she left her home (after killing the culture hero); how she was pursued, and how she caused a storm to rise behind her to prevent her enemies following. "It tells all about rain and wind."

Tales also occurred with soliloquies delivered in the form of song, several examples of which are given in the tales at the end of this paper. Herzog also recorded a song incidental to a Maricopa myth.[13] This is a stylistic peculiarity widespread in Southwestern tales. Such songs were not sung apart from the tales.

Not every song was dreamed, at least by its singer. Several instances were cited. It was said, for instance, of the song tcutŏ'-xăm, used when a group of boys were set to destroying a bees' nest, that "this song is not dreamed, but a man who knows how sings it." Similarly no mention was made of dreaming in the case of tatuma'npĭg, sung during the girls' puberty rites. It may be that ritual songs were not dreamed, although their content was much the same as dreamed songs. But it is more likely that their occurrence was like that of the song Deserted. "This had not been sung for a long time. One man wanted to start it again for a dance. Someone else had dreamed it long ago: this man did

[13] Herzog, *Yuman Musical Style*, pp. 188, 224.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Yuma

826 Nail parings thrown away would make a noise like a kiss, so they did not like to throw them near where they slept.

SOULS AND LIFE AFTER DEATH

774 It is clear that concepts of soul were not involved in the dream experience. An individual possessed a plurality of souls: (1) wipai′, the soul proper, the vital principle; (2) ʼicĭnyoi′yĭm, "[something that] does not act good," the whirlwind soul, the ghost; (3) iwa′, the heart; (4) iwaănŏk, "small heart," the pulses. "At death the wipai′ goes to the land of the dead; the ghost stays about [in human guise] as the whirlwind; the heart becomes a horned owl, each pulse a screech owl. The heart is always the last part of the body to burn. It is called 'the horned owl,'" Kutox thinks, because it burns as a black lump. The horned owl was sometimes called kwĭpu′i iwa′c, "the dead people's heart." "The ghost is just the shadow of the dead person," according to Last Star. When illness was said to be occasioned by the loss of the soul, it was the wipai′ which was thought to leave the body. At death, the remaining souls left the body: the whirlwind soul perhaps at the instant of death; more certainly the heart and pulses fled the corpse during its cremation.

775 [825] [826]

184 The Maricopa believed that the land of the dead lay to the west, in the desert on the lower reaches of the Gila. They called it "the dead people's place" (puĭnyâva′, sing.; hupoiʼĭnyâva′, pl.). Where the Halchidhoma localized their after life while they were still on the Colorado, Kutox had never heard his people mention. As he knew them, living on the Gila with the Maricopa, they said that their own and the Maricopa dead went to the same place in the west. The point is of some interest. The Yumans of the lower Colorado assigned a southerly direction to it, hence this was probably also the original Halchidhoma localization. But the Maricopa have transposed the names of the cardinal points from the normal Yuman order, south becoming west, so that the direction downstream was correctly maintained, and with it, we may presume, the direction in which lay the land of the dead.

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Maricopa
Halchidhoma

CHAPTER X

DEATH CUSTOMS

CREMATION

184 764 Like other Colorado River Yumans, the Halchidhoma and Maricopa cremated their dead and held a mourning ceremony for them. So far as the details of cremation were concerned the two tribes did not differ, but the slight Maricopa mourning rite was incomparable with the ambitious Halchidhoma affair. The latter closely paralleled that of Yuma and Mohave.

764 The dead were without exception cremated. This included those who died while visiting with foreign tribes, warriors killed in the enemy country, and infants. Those who were not cremated [775] could not enter the land of the dead (see p. 299).

[727] One who died away from home, as in war in the mountains [Yavapai territory], would be cremated right there. They would be quiet about it; gather logs at night, set fire to them, and immediately set out for home. If one died while on a visit to the Mohave, e.g., he was cremated there: if one of their men dies here, we do the same for him. The ashes were not carried home. But the time our people were killed at Yuma, we could not attend to them. They died in a pile in the center of their village. The bones lay scattered about for years. It was the same with all the Yuma who were killed over here.

[115] Cremation persists to this day: it occurred once while I was on the reservation. My aged Halchidhoma informant, Kutox, from whom most of the following description was obtained, was by common consent director of these affairs.

763 When a man had a mortal illness, the shaman in attendance was given four nights in which to cure. On the fourth night, when he knew his efforts were unavailing, he changed his songs. Previously he had referred in them only to things that are white; now he suddenly changed to references to black, and the auditors knew the patient would die. During the first half of the night, he sang persuading the sick man not to go to the other world, reminding him that his property was here. During the second half,

Kroeber E-6 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Yuma
Mohave

768 moved to a new locality, where a new house was built. This
[166] habit seems to have led to a constantly shifting occupation of the Gila valley, much accelerated by the epidemics incident to the coming of the whites.

765 The relatives would mourn for four days following the death. At the end of the fourth day, they were always visited by an older person who talked to them, admonishing them not to think of their dead relative for fear they might also sicken. He tried to get them to efface it from their minds. For this reason, there was no mourning ceremony, according to my Halchidhoma informant; but he later described the very full rite given below. After four days they resumed their normal occupations.

765 Purification (matanaĕ'k) was necessary for the mourning rel-
783 atives, the speech-maker, and everyone else who had touched or tended the corpse. They threw all the clothing they wore into the pyre and went to bathe. (In fact, everyone who was present threw at least one article into it before leaving the spot.) On reaching home, before going to bed, they built a little fire on which arrowweeds were lain to smoke themselves. For four days
[262] they abstained from meat and salt, bathing each morning. Mourning relatives singed their hair short, not close.[1] The length
[587] of mourning was not fixed: some widows and widowers remarried within a few months, but it was usual to wait a year or two.

I several times observed an old woman walking alone wailing or rather groaning for relatives who had died some time before. But when she reached the house of her niece, where I was, she left off abruptly. I was told that she grieved all the time and that she dreamed of the dead.

551 The objection to naming the dead was very strong, so much so
769 that it was very difficult to obtain genealogical material. This was not an absolute tabu but a strong repugnance. As elsewhere among Indians, mentioning a man's dead relatives (called nĭctcĭm'g) was comparable to cursing him. Kutox, commenting on this, said, "But every time I hurt myself I say, 'I have no grandmother; I have no grandfather.' Soon I will be with my dead relatives so I do not mind speaking of them."

[184] [1] Purification of mourners by bathing and smoking also occurred among the Yuma (Gifford, *Yuma Dreams*, p. 66) and the Mohave purified themselves by smoke in the scalp dance (Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 752).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

765 made. When the woodpile was half burned down, all left except
[531] the mourners. The speaker then told them to bear up under their loss, speaking as though the death had just occurred. He then left. The man who tended the cremation also tended this burning. He handled the image carefully as though it were the corpse. He saw that it was wholly consumed, divided the ashes into four parts, and buried them in four holes. Then the mourners left.

[783] Those who made the image and those who took part in the sham fight had to observe the precautions of purification for four days, abstaining from salt, etc., just as at a death.

MARICOPA MOURNING CEREMONY

765 The Maricopa ceremony, which was much simpler, seems not
[491] to have been held for every man, but only for those who were exceptional as singers, orators, or warriors. At this time they sang the songs dreamed by the deceased or enacted a fight in which he had participated, and burned contributions of clothing and belongings. There was no image and no shade built. Further, the ceremony was not on the anniversary but took place within a few days after the death.

Three days after the death of a great man (a warrior, speaker, or singer), some man would arrange this ceremony (called hlcpask, "showing"). It occupied an entire day, the burning occurring late in the evening. He selected a place where they made a woodpile as if to cremate. Everyone brought clothing, piled it on the pyre, and burned it. Men yelled and women raced back and forth.

Kutox remembered this done for a man, a war leader who in his day had carried the feathered pike "standard." It took place on the fourth day after his cremation. Word was sent to the Hal-
[618] chidhoma at Sacate and to the Pima. They were invited because this man had always invited these tribes when he went to war. He was always successful. All who came wore their finest clothing and were armed as for war. One carried a feathered pike. When they arrived they rode around the site and then, to one side, enacted a certain battle in which the deceased had fought.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Mohave

561 infancy, pre-adolescence and puberty, on parenthood, and on reaching the status of grandparenthood or menopause.

For example, Charlie Redbird, newly made a grandfather, was called kwuxaŏ'k, to the amusement of his second wife, although he was only in his late forties.

TABLE IX

	Males	Females
Infant of either sex to about 4 years old	xuma' xa*	
A boy from 4 years to puberty (change of voice); a girl from 4 to 8 years	xuma'xaikĭ'p	xuma'xâpatcĭ'p
Until a first child was born	mâxai'	mâcxai'
Adult	ipa'	alxyaŏ'k
Old age (after a man had a grandchild; a woman reached menopause)	kwuxaŏ'k	ŏk,yoi'

*Cf. xumai', a man's son.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS

171 881 Puberty observances concerned girls alone: there was no comparable rite for boys unless the bee-killing ordeal be so considered. Nor, since the vision quest was almost wholly absent, was this an appropriate occasion for obtaining power. The girl's rite aligns with those of southern California in its emphasis on concern for the girl's future physiological well-being, with the [184] "roasting" of the girl an essential. Like the Mohave, the girl was not sung over, but unlike them, and on the other hand like other southern Californians and the upland peoples of Arizona, a dance was held and the girl forced to run at dawn toward the east. On the whole, the impression prevails that here the girl's rite was relatively unimpressive and unimportant.

881 At her first period, a girl was secluded in a little lodge for eight days. During this period she sat all day long (but did not lie), doing nothing, until late in the evening when she was allowed to sleep. She remained alone, so that she would have no one to talk with and thus would avoid growing garrulous. They did not sing